

Community



(Arthur L. Freeman)

Crowds gather to hear gospel-singer Mahalia Jackson (seated behind rostrum) at Montgomery, Ala., Im-

provement Assn. Institute last month, marking first anniversary of the famed bus boycott.

Alabama Bus Boycotters Mark First Anniversary *Public's Ass.*

END BUS SEGREGATION

As we go to press, Montgomery, Ala., had just received formal notice of the Supreme Court's decision (made in November) that segregation on its buses is unconstitutional. This decision enables Negroes and whites to sit where they choose on Montgomery buses.

This decision was brought about through the organized efforts of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Formed a year ago, MIA's 45,000 members boycotted segregated buses and used car pools to get to work.

Ed Chambers, a Friendship House staffworker, attended an Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change, held December 3-9 in Montgomery, to mark MIA's first anniversary. Here he writes about the Institute and the situation in Montgomery.

Montgomery, Ala.

YOU'VE READ ABOUT IT. You've heard talks about it. Now you're seeing it first hand. This is how I felt as I began the nine-mile ride from the airport into Montgomery, the "cradle of the Confederacy."

On the outskirts of this city of 125,000 the first thing that caught my eye was a dark-skinned young lady walking with a four-year-old white boy. This was the beginning of ironies that confounded me the rest of the day. The airport limousine let me out at the Jeff Davis hotel—and the name found me trying to remember my old history classes.

I walked around town for some time and then suddenly realized I had yet to see a bus. Everybody seems to walk. Having been given directions to the headquarters of the Montgomery Improvement Association, I walked to South Union street where I entered an attractive new brick building. People within were busy. This is the center of the bus protest.

I chatted with Mrs. Gregory about their movement. The car pool has ceased because of the injunction calling it illegal. People are walking and hitching rides.

Mrs. Gregory was a straight-forward and unpretentious lady. One thing she said really struck me: "We have the time and the patience." She said it in such a way that it seemed other-worldly. I departed after getting directions to the Bethel Baptist Church where the public forum on "Non-Violence in Social Change" was being held at 7 P.M.

A FEW BLOCKS AWAY, I came upon the first White House of the Confederacy (where Jefferson Davis slept), and decided to visit it. I looked at historical pieces and struck up a conversation with the middle-aged white woman in charge—who was obviously itching to talk.

"We Will Sit in Back"

I casually mentioned the bus protest. "Do you know the niggers had a big meeting last night?" she asked. "They outnumbered us two to one." (About 45,000 of Montgomery's 125,000 are Negroes.) I asked, "What is going to happen when they begin to ride the buses?" "We will sit in the front." "But they will probably sit all over." "Well then, we will just stand." "Do you expect any trouble?" She gave me a sophisticated, "Yes." Somehow she wasn't nearly as convincing as Mrs. Gregory.

After getting a room and a bit to eat I caught a cab for the forum. "You want to go to a nigger section?" the driver questioned. "Yes, I believe it's a Negro church." So he called in, "I got a flag on a guy who wants to go to some nigger church." After two attempts at a conversation I gave up.

(Continued on page 3)

Epiphany Continues Joy of Christmas

The Feast of the Epiphany, celebrated January 6th, commemorates the manifestation of Christ to the gentile world . . . symbolized by the Three Kings.

St. Leo's sermon is part of the Church's Epiphany liturgy. Written 1500 years ago, it speaks compellingly today to all men of their common Redeemer.

Ade Bethune's woodcut illustrates this important feast of the Church year.

THE LAST HOLYDAY we celebrated was the day on which Virginity In-violate brought forth the Savior of the human race. The venerated festival of Epiphany, dearly beloved, gives us a continuance of that joy, so that the very nearness of these kindred feasts keeps the lustiness of our rejoicing and the fervor of our faith from growing cold. It touches the salvation of all men closely that the infancy of the Mediator between God and man was made manifest before the whole world, while he was still detained in the little city of his birth.

Although he chose the people of Israel, and one familiar among that people as the source from which he took his human nature, yet he did not wish the beginning of his earthly life to be hidden within the narrow walls of his mother's house. He who deigned to be born for all, wished to be recognized by all. Therefore to three Wise Men from the kingdoms of the East, there appeared a star, new and splen-



did—a star so much more brilliant and beautiful than all others, it drew the eyes and thoughts of all who beheld it. At once it became evident that something unusual had come to pass, and not without a meaning.

Then he who appointed the sign gave understanding to those who beheld it.

As he gave them the grace to understand, so too, he gave them the grace to seek him, and seeking him, to find him. The three men followed the guiding of the supernal light, and following the gleam which went before them, were led by the light of grace to a knowledge of truth. Through hu-

man logic they concluded that he who was born king, would be found in the royal city. But he who took the form of a servant and came not to judge but to be judged, chose Bethlehem for his birthplace and Jerusalem for his passion.

—St. Leo I

Political Treason

THE FORCES of purity and righteousness in the Democratic party may be preparing for a purge as the new Congress assembles this month. Focus of their attention is Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York City. His sin is treason—he supported Ike.

Representative Hays of Ohio has said he would ask for a pre-season Democratic House caucus to bar Powell from committee assignments as a Democrat. "They took him in the campaign, and they can keep him now," Hays declared. Democratic National committee chairman Paul Butler concurred that only "good" Democrats should get assignments. Representative Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary committee, is also said to be selling Sam Rayburn the idea that Powell should be deprived of committee assignments.

Venerable Tradition

Singling out Powell for disciplining is evoking a good deal of comment, since Democratic Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi announced just as openly as Powell that he was not supporting Stevenson during the campaign. The question is raised, what about Williams?

Furthermore, there is a venerable tradition among Democrats on this score. In 1948 a sizeable majority of

Southern Democratic Congressmen joined in a bolt from Harry Truman to J. Strom Thurmond as their presidential candidate. Yet all retained their seniority. One of them, James Richards, retired recently as chairman of the House Foreign Relations committee; another, Howard Smith of Virginia, still is chairman of the Rules committee.

In 1952 Price Daniels of Texas was elected to the Senate as a Democrat after campaigning for Eisenhower. Democratic Senate Majority leader Lyndon Johnson embraced him and elevated him to the Judiciary Committee.

Adam Clayton Powell followed this Democratic tradition by throwing his support to Ike last fall. The situation is especially ironical in that Powell's brand of opportunism seems highly comparable to many Southern Democrats' brand.

Even if the idea of disciplining Powell is allowed quietly to evaporate, it leaves a bad taste in many mouths. It may further complicate the difficulties faced by Democratic leaders in rebuilding the party after November's defeat. Southern Negro voters who moved in large numbers into the Republican camp then are not likely to be won over by threat of a move against Powell.

Ed Chambers

Our Native Americans

WHITE AMERICANS are the descendants of immigrants. The good job, late model car and well tended house in the suburbs now belong to second generation Americans.

Even if it makes us feel like old fashioned Fourth of July orators we can truly rejoice in this fact of democratic opportunities.

Some of the anomalies of American life will suggest themselves to most of us as we muse on our good fortune.

Communists Know Us Well

The Negroes' inequality of opportunity, in spite of his long residence in the United States, is so well known to the Asiatic nations, the "neutral" nations and of course, the Communist nations, that it can hardly escape us at home.

Communist propagandists are diligently keeping uncommitted peoples informed about our race riots, our job discrimination and our unlawfully seg-

regated schools.

The strangest anomaly, however, is one we are likely to forget completely, especially if we live in the East or the Midwest.

Betty Schneider's article on Indian problems (see page 8) brings to mind the curious situation of the only native American people.

Bus Boycott Appeal

THE AGONIZING PROBLEM of segregation will plague the whole United States as long as white men and black men are divided in the deep South.

Migrating Southern Negroes in search of opportunities, liberty, dignity glut Northern labor and housing markets.

Clashes between whites, Northern Negroes, and newly arrived Negroes from the South occur daily in our cities. Dixie's problems are America's problems.

Against this background of national stress the historic bus boycott of the Negro people in Montgomery, Alabama, assumes its full significance. Efforts like this will break the back of segregation in Dixie.

In spite of these real difficulties we find it incredible that Indians were not United States citizens till 1924. Their inadequate income level strikes us with peculiar force in a land of economic opportunity for immigrants and their children.

Mary Clinch

In this issue Ed Chambers (page 1) reports directly from Montgomery on the heroic acts and Christ-like attitude of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

This great work deserves the support of Americans seeking a just and charitable solution to our racial problems.

The Association is appealing for funds needed to carry its peaceful but firm campaign.

We feel sure that many of our friends will want to send contributions. Checks should be made payable to the Montgomery Improvement Association and mailed to it at 530-C South Union Street, Montgomery, Alabama.

Mary Clinch

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Puerto Rican Migrants

MY HUSBAND AND I live on the lower East side of Manhattan. Here, where many Puerto Rican migrants have settled, we see the pattern of changing neighborhoods.

Antonia and Judith moved next door to us. Both are recently from Puerto Rico. Antonia is a nurse in a city hospital where I had a stay. We learned there that we were neighbors. Afterwards both girls came to help, and we became friends with them and some of their family.

At first Judith hesitated to speak English but now has become very good at it. She, Antonia, and Antonia's sister Ruth, attended the university at San Juan, Puerto Rico. They are fond of their school and showed us their year-books with the customary collection of autographs.

Pictures from Puerto Rico

One night Toni's brother, Raphael, came over from Brooklyn to show some movies he had taken. His pictures of the island were golden and inviting. Many, many people were there and children darted through the lolling crowds. Still there was space and cleanliness.

Other pictures took us through a quick tour of shopping and resort areas in the capitol, San Juan. We saw the university—very spacious and beautiful. The incredible flowers, leisurely pace, large low buildings, graceful stairways all contributed to an expensive feeling.

Why Do They Leave?

It set me to wondering: Why do Puerto Ricans leave their beautiful island for the United States?

I asked Eileen Fantino Diaz, who last year married Inigo Diaz, a young Puerto Rican newcomer to New York. She had previously lived in East Harlem several years and run a children's center in this Puerto Rican neighborhood.

"The main reason Puerto Ricans come to the mainland is economic," Eileen

said. They tend to remain here, for on the island earnings are often \$20 to \$35 a week so even such low salaries as \$40 or \$50 a week are a sizeable increase.

"They have the same problems any community group faces," according to Eileen, "but people don't recognize that Puerto Ricans are citizens. The problem of many poor working people is color. In the United States many people identify them with Negroes, which is erroneous."

"The majority of Puerto Ricans are white. Their ancestors are Indians who once inhabited the island, Negroes from Africa, and whites."

This Question of Complexion

Later I learned that considerably more than half of the people on the island are white. The rest are Negro or of mixed ancestry. If they had not come to the United States where there is prejudice in many areas, this question of complexion would not have been raised. They would not notice that their complexions, away from the tropical sun, tend to grow lighter.

Here, however, it makes a difference. Colored Puerto Ricans who come here assume the same status as Negroes. They face the same segregation.

To learn more about the problems Puerto Rican newcomers share with immigrants, I visited Nativity Mission Center in lower East Manhattan where I spoke with the director, Father Janer. He told me of a typical family who formerly lived in Puerto Rico, had farmed a small piece of land. They were a strong family unit, had freedom and space to move about in.

Curtailed Mobility

Here in New York they live in a repainted apartment. Materially they are not much better off than they were in Puerto Rico. The freedom they formerly knew has been curtailed. They have no vehicles for going out into the country and don't know their neighbors.

Sosa
Family
of Chicago.
Recent
Migrants



Unused to punching clocks (many people in Puerto Rico judge time by the sun), they must work for exact periods of time and return, dead tired, to their over-crowded apartments.

New York, despite what has been done to finance housing projects, fails to provide anywhere near an adequate supply of housing. What there is is expensive. Many apartments are shared by two or three families, and \$250 is not a rare bonus to pay for the privilege of sharing a home.

Loan sharks find these newcomers ripe for the picking. Because they are used to poverty, they can be easily persuaded to buy flashy things that they never thought they could own. An example of this is the enormous crop of ill-made furniture that has outlived its usefulness long before it is paid for. As always with a new system of currency, there is much cheating and over-charging. Some have been victimized by agents who sign up men for work, receive \$50 for the trouble, and disappear without producing a job.

Though many of the Puerto Ricans have a hard time financially, they rarely lean on the City for support. Every group has its "gyppers" but Puerto Ricans are the quickest of all ethnic groups to get off relief. "They have their own pride," says Father Janer. "They don't usually go to agencies but to their families."

Spanish-Speaking Priests

Religion plays a large part in the lives of Puerto Ricans, most of whom are Catholics. The difficulties they face in practicing their religion here are multiplied by the difference in language. A few years ago when Puerto Ricans were beginning to arrive in large numbers in New York, there were no churches where Spanish was spoken. Now a number of parishes have priests who speak the language of the island. However, this practice has its drawbacks—it may help perpetuate segregation.

The problem of language is also found in the school. Unable to convey a message to the Puerto Rican child, the teacher sends him home with a note. The parents may not be able to read it or even to know who sent it.

Informal Adoption

Puerto Ricans have a great affection for their children. But there are neglected children, too. Father Janer says that there are more abandoned children in New York than in the island. This practice is somewhat offset by the ease with which such children are informally adopted and brought up in another family.

One accomplishment in the political order of which anyone can be proud was the registration in 1956 of 100,000 Puerto Ricans in New York. This was an increase of 65,000 over the gubernatorial election two years before.

All the preceding remarks seem to infer that only the poorest Puerto Ricans leave the island for the mainland. To a great extent this is true. However, there are upper and middle-income people who are coming, too, and some who are nationally and internationally famous. Among them are actor-director Jose Ferrer, movie actress Olga San Juan, Rita Moreno of "The King and I," and Dr. Leopolda Cerecedo, head of Fordham university's chemistry department and famous for his work in isolating vitamin B1 and devising a blood test for the detection of cancer.

Migrant Puerto Ricans, like foreign immigrants of previous decades, are changing the face of New York City while they themselves are being changed. There is a demand upon the city and its inhabitants for understanding. In a newsletter of Nativity Mission Center we found a quote from Pope Pius XII about the building we must all do for the city of the future:

"The children whom you meet in the bosom of the most Christian or irreligious families, of those that are cultured and those that are not, these young boys whom you find in the streets and who offend you, perhaps, by their coarseness, who sometimes, unfortunately, bear on their foreheads and in their eyes the signs of poverty and precocious vice, it is on all of these both good and bad that the future and fate of human society depend."

—Mary Ryan Boyd

Mrs. Boyd is a former Friendship House staff worker who contributes regularly to COMMUNITY.

Mark First Anniversary

(Continued from page 1)

Overflow Crowd

I was about 10 minutes early and the place was jammed. Over a thousand people crowded into the small rectangular church—overflowing outside.

To the strains of "God Will Take Care of You," I was ushered up front to the press and visitor section. In the hot, stifling church I was surrounded by people who for 12 long months had carried on a non-violent protest against unfair and humiliating treatment on their city buses.

This had been done in the face of bombings, arrests, threats and intimidations.

Twentieth Century Revolution

Glenn Smiley, field secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from New York City served as moderator. In his opening remarks, pierced with the crying of a child, he contrasted the truth-telling, Christ-loving, non-violent movement of Negro Montgomerians to the Middle East violence. He called the M.I.A. a "great revolution of the twentieth century."

tieth century."

Dr. C. K. Steele, leader of the Tallahassee, Florida, bus protest, took up the discussion by relating their story. Steele claimed, "If it had not been for the marvelous example of the Negroes of Montgomery under Dr. King, we could very easily have had violence." He described a phalanx of Negro students stopping a bus and ordering everyone out.

Segregation Now Limp

Reverend F. L. Shuttlesworth, a fiery crew-cut orator from Birmingham, Alabama, had the listeners shouting with affirmation as he wove love and non-violence through his talk: "In the former cradle of the Confederacy is now born the true baby of democracy. The heart of Dixie is undergoing an operation and we are doing it. If Jesus can be dying and praying why can't we? Instead of burning crosses we shall carry our crosses."

Reverend T. J. Jemison, leader of a bus protest in 1953 in Baton Rouge, praised Montgomery as the city that had broken the back of segregation. "From now on it can only limp," he asserted.

For three and one-half hours people listened and shouted agreement. I hitched a ride downtown with Mr. Jerry Chandler and his wife, who live ten miles outside of town. I asked if they attend every meeting. "I wouldn't miss one now for anything," he drawled.

As I tiredly climbed the stairs to go to bed around midnight, I chalked up this day as one of learning several lessons not written in books.

—Ed Chambers



(Arthur L. Freeman)

Rev. M. L. King (second from left), leader of Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, shakes hands with Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala., head of Ala. Christian Movement for Human Rights. Looking on are Rev. T. J. Jemison (left), leader of a 1953 bus boycott in Baton Rouge, La., and Rev. C. K. Steele, whose Inter-Civic Assn. followers in Tallahassee, Fla., are still boycotting buses.

Views

Refute Intellectual Inferiority

THE THEORY that Negroes are intellectually inferior to white persons was attacked as "scientifically unjustified" by 16 leading social scientists in the United States. To refute the theory they presented a body of scientific facts.

In so doing they noted that they were not taking sides on desegregation issues but wanted to set the record straight on some statements made in relation to these issues.

The alleged intellectual inferiority of Negroes was inferred during the congressional investigation of the integrated school system in the District of Columbia, and in the published conclusions of Frank McGurk, Villanova University professor.

The social scientists, all of whom hold

top positions in the nation's leading universities and research institutions, cited the position of leading scientific organizations which have "opposed the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics."

Similarly, in 1953 more than 30 American social scientists submitted a statement to the Supreme Court which included the following: "The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences. . . . It seems clear, therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded."

Can't Sell Va. School Bonds

VIRGINIA HAS RUN into some of the trouble predicted when it enacted its anti-integration laws last September. Governor Thomas B. Stanley has set up a series of meetings with the State Treasury Board to discuss the buyers' strike communities have met in trying to sell school bond issues.

The governor is looking into the reasons why school bonds are not selling. None of the school legislation passed by the General Assembly would affect

soundness of the bonds, he maintained.

It appears that the bond buyers thought otherwise. None bid on a one million dollar bond issue in Hopewell. The South Norfolk City Council rejected the lone bid on its \$520,000 issue because the interest rate was a high 4.99 per cent.

The disinterest shown by bond buyers in Virginia school bonds has school officials—in the midst of a huge construction program—worried.

Seeks Entry to Dental Society

MEMBERS of the District of Columbia Dental Society were scheduled to vote last month on admitting qualified Negro dentists.

The question was precipitated by the application of Dr. John A. Turner, chief of oral surgery at Howard University School of Dentistry. In his application Dr. Turner said he needed membership in the local society to make him eligible for membership in the American

Dental Association, which does not bar Negro dentists.

The controversial subject was discussed at a closed meeting of the District Dental Society. More than 100 members turned out for the two-hour long meeting. It is reported that a majority of those who spoke at the meeting favored making membership application forms available to all qualified dentists regardless of race.

Lack Catholic Research Data

THERE IS LITTLE complete Catholic material to offer researchers working on the subject of "Catholicism and the American Negro." This was asserted by Father R. E. Bernard, S.J., managing editor of *Social Order* magazine. It is not entirely the fault of these secular researchers in minority groups in the United States, that they have paid very little attention to the subject of Catholicism and the Negro, he said. "There is little or no worthwhile data to hand over to such researchers. We should have provided the material, but we have not," Father said.

Catholics hesitate to invite scholars to do research on the question, Father Bernard added. "I honestly fear we are

ashamed of not having faced the total Negro question as Catholics. I think we are fearful of what to do next," he remarked. "These two emotions hold us back and act as anchors on any real strong, concerted approach to this question."

Signs of progress, he added, are that societies and organizations treat the question at all today; and that southern Catholics have shown an interest in inter-racial councils recently established among them. Strong positions taken by various Catholic prelates in some southern areas have somewhat consolidated the Catholic front in the south, Father concluded.

Predicts White Bus Boycott

GEORGIA ATTORNEY GENERAL Eugene Cook said that any attempt to invoke the United States Supreme Court's bus integration ruling in Georgia probably would result in "sweeping white boycotts" of buses in the state.

He made the comment in a statement on United States Attorney General H. Brownell's scheduled meeting with federal district attorneys from segregated states to talk about means of enforcing the Supreme Court's ruling that city buses in Montgomery, Alabama, should be integrated.

"Perhaps Mr. Brownell has overlooked the fact that cities which have

granted franchises to municipal transit companies may, if they desire, refuse to renew the franchise of any company which complies with the decision," Mr. Cook said. "It is possible that this action will provoke a boycott on the part of a great majority of white people using buses in the state, if drastic action is taken."

He called Mr. Brownell's action an "outrage" and one which "may well invite serious trouble if he has in mind plans to prosecute corporations and public officials on the slightest provocation."

—Cliff Thomas

Friendly Persuasion

Employment

EMPLOYMENT is one of the most rapidly changing aspects of race relations. A big factor in this change is the President's Committee on Government Contracts, which has been making industry aware of its responsibility for fair employment.

In August, 1953, President Eisenhower set up the Committee on Government Contracts. In his Executive Order he stated that it is our Government's policy "to promote equal employment opportunity . . . in all aspects of employment on work paid for from public funds."

The scope of the Committee's influence on employment practices can be seen from the fact that 85 per cent of United States industry does some work under government contracts.

Nixon Heads Committee

Six of its 15 members are appointed by the government agencies making most of the contracts for the Federal Government. Non-governmental members represent labor, industry, education, and the press. Vice-President Nixon serves as chairman, and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell is vice-chairman.

Every government contract has a clause forbidding discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin. The Government expects voluntary compliance with this clause.

Says Jacob Seidenberg, Executive Director of the Committee: "Every Government contract is a voluntary agreement—no one is forced to sign. But if a contractor signs such an agreement, he must live up to its provisions. If he does not, a civil suit for breach of contract is the penalty. So far, we have never had a suit."

In its three years of existence the Committee has never had to recommend cancellation of a contract. This does not mean that all contractors have always followed a policy of nondiscrimination.

It does mean that the Committee's use of conciliation, education, and persuasion have led contractors to recognize their responsibility and cease discriminatory practices.

These successes have been achieved through the Committee's work in investigating complaints, reviewing contractor's compliance, and a general education program.

Compliance reviews are spot checks to determine the effectiveness of the Committee's program.

Private Citizen Can File Complaint

The complaint process is vital to the Committee's program. Through it the private citizen can exercise his Constitutional right to petition the Gov-

ernment for redress of a grievance.

The Committee then investigates to see if charges of discrimination in hiring, up-grading, demotion, transfer, recruitment, termination, wage rates or trainee selection are true.

The complaint process is also important because, when evidence of discrimination exists, it opens the way for the Committee and the contracting agencies to begin corrective action.

Progress in Several Fields

A complaint against an oil refining company resulted in wider employment opportunities for minorities in that whole field.

Progress was also made in airline hiring. Major airlines now have non-white workers in many different jobs like equipment serviceman, senior mechanic, telephone sales agent, and reservations agent.

The education program of the Committee includes industry-wide conferences of major Government contractors and compliance officers in the Government agencies.

The public has been acquainted with the program of the Committee by the placement of carcards on buses and trains, by spot announcements on radio and television and by newsletters and pamphlets distributed to key organizations and individuals.

Educational Movie Released

Last year the Committee released "Commencement," a 21-minute sound picture. The movie demonstrates that all company officers and supervisors and employment agencies should clearly understand that employment is to be based on work qualifications only—otherwise discrimination is likely to result.

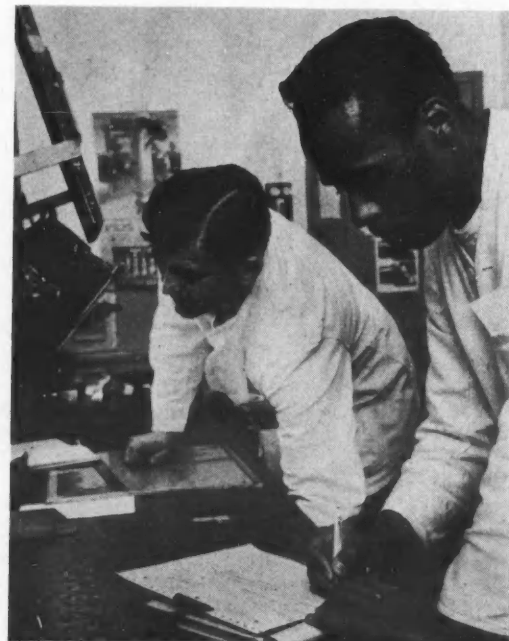
The Committee recognizes that many factors besides employment discrimination depress minority groups economically. They are particularly concerned with motivating young Negroes to train for skilled jobs increasingly available to them.

A large aircraft manufacturer employed Negroes only as laborers until persuaded by the Committee to initiate a technical training program in the public schools on a non-segregated basis. Negroes are now in all job classifications in the company.

The Committee depends on the cooperation it receives from the people. As President Eisenhower says: "Every American who helps, even in the smallest way, to make equality of opportunity a living fact, is doing the business of America."

—Margaret Garrity

Miss Garrity works with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.



Anso Film Company Develops Good Racial Policy, Too

(N. Y. State Comm. Against Discrimination)

WORKING FOR WORKERS *Employment*

Negro Labor Committee Tackles Job Opportunities and Fostering Trade Unionism Among Negroes

THE NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE was founded on the basic proposition that the nation's labor could not exist half-slave and half-free. On July 20, 1935, a conference of progressive and enlightened trade unionists, both Negro and white, and representing 110 labor unions, met to discuss common problems. Out of the hearts and brains of the assembled delegates, the Negro Labor Committee was born.

Prior to the historic conference that gave birth to the Negro Labor Committee, the assets and potential contributions by Negroes to the material and spiritual fabric of our country were wasted. This shameful squandering of human resources was a result of the relegation of Negroes to the lowest levels of occupation—porters, dishwashers, domestics and other menial trades—regardless of aptitude or ability.

Study Economic Plight

Two significant events helped to establish a climate favorable to the formation of the Negro Labor Committee. In 1923 a "Trade Union Committee" to



Frank R. Crosswaith

organize Negro workers was created in Harlem to organize motion picture and elevator operators. At that time there were two such unions, but Negroes were not noticeable among their membership. In 1925 Pullman porters were organized, an event that awakened Negroes to the sociological truth that the "Negro problem" was basically an economic one.

The conference that assembled in 1935 met with the purpose of examining the economic plight of the Negro worker and to do for him what similar organizations had done, and are doing, for respective groups. The delegates formulated a program of action that was to benefit labor as a whole and the Negro worker in particular. The goals of this program were two-fold: to aid the Negro in securing a job commensurate with his ability; and to remove the threat which the unorganized Negro worker represented to the labor movement.

Establish Harlem Center

The outcome of this conference was the organization of the Negro Labor Committee, composed of 25 members imbued with the principles of democratic trade unionism, and the establishment of its headquarters at 312 West 125th Street, New York City, the Harlem Labor Center—"Labor's Home in Harlem"—where an intensive campaign of education and organization was begun.

The obstacles facing the educational work of the Committee were legion, but with our aims as a beacon of light we proceeded to knife through the veil of ignorance that enveloped the labor horizon. Our aims were, and are: to promote industrial democracy, to or-

ganize and guide Negro workers into bonafide trade unions, to establish the solidarity of Negro and white labor, and to win for all workers equality of responsibility and equality of benefits within the domain of organized labor. As a graphic illustration of our principles, we chose as our emblem the clasped hands of a Negro and white worker, and the motto "BLACK AND WHITE, WORKERS UNITE!"

Obstacles on All Sides

One of the early obstacles we had to overcome was the unwillingness of a few unions to accept Negroes as an equal, sharing all the responsibilities and the benefits that result from trade union membership. A corollary obstacle to our work was the attitude of a majority of Negro workers who, because of unpleasant experiences and fear of losing their jobs, were suspicious of trade unionism.

The Negro Labor Committee, as soon as it was formed, plunged into its educational and organizational work. Our first victories were the successful organization of the employees of the New York *Amsterdam News*, and the organization of Moving Picture Operators and Laundry Workers in Harlem. The Committee played a most important role in organizing barbers, building service employees, retail clerks, garment workers, bakers, teamsters, upholsterer's groups and workers in practically every field of labor in the New York area.

Communists Oppose

As a result of our early successes, the Negro Labor Committee soon found itself engaged in mortal combat with the recognized arch-enemy of free labor. The Communists tried first to capture, then to destroy, and finally to compete with the Committee. At about the same time, a group called "The Negro Labor Victory Committee" suddenly sprouted up with headquarters directly across the street from our own Harlem Labor Center. The propaganda of this group (which subsequently found itself on the Attorney General's subversive list) soon assumed an anti-white, anti-semitic tone because many of the landlords, merchants and employers in Harlem were white and Jewish.

One of the early results of Communist activity was the sudden appearance of Communist-supported Negro unions in Harlem, which the Negro Labor Committee opposed. The Communist line at that time was "Self Determination in the Black Belt"—a line which must have had the endorsement of every

Integration

Adds to

America's

Productivity



"Ku Kluxer" in the United States. Credit for the obvious failure of the Communists to use Negro workers inside the labor movement as tools in their destructive campaign is due to the constructive work of the Negro Labor Committee.

Serves as Clearing House

The Harlem Labor Center, headquarters of the Negro Labor Committee, has been since its inception a "clearing house" for labor. In the Center which has an auditorium seating 500 people, and where office space is available to various union groups, the Negro Labor Assembly meets once a month. Each union affiliated with the Negro Labor Committee is entitled to three delegates to the Assembly, without consideration of color or sex. These delegates meet to reflect upon and discuss problems of immediate community concern, and in which labor is affected.

Another important activity of the Negro Labor Committee is the *Negro Labor News Service*, which supplies to the Negro press and colleges articles and news items about the activities of Negro workers within the labor movement, and the help given by organized labor to various Civil Rights measures. In this way the influence of the Negro Labor Committee is spread beyond New York City, thus making the job of organizing Negro workers into the bonafide unions easier in all industrial areas. Metropolitan Negro workers and Negro workers from all over the country, especially from the South, come daily to the Harlem Labor Center with their problems, and for information and direction in becoming affiliated with the union of their trade.

Assists All Recognized Unions

From its earliest days the Negro Labor Committee has always maintained a non-partisan position in its organiz-

ing campaign. All recognized unions are assisted in their organizational work, regardless of whether or not they are affiliated with the Committee. Heads of unions rely upon the Committee for information and advice regarding organizations and individuals that approach them. The work of the Committee is financed from small monthly dues paid by affiliated unions (whose total membership is over a million). Since its establishment, practically every trade union within Greater New York has had occasion to call upon the Committee for service, counsel, and other assistance, which they receive without prejudice or cost.

For many years after the birth of the CIO, the Negro Labor Committee meetings were the only place in the nation where AFL and CIO workers met in harmony for a common approach to their problems. If the Negro Labor Committee was not the actual matchmaker, it at least had the pleasure of introducing what is now the happily married couple AFL-CIO.

Gains Made by Committee

The achievements of the Negro Labor Committee can only be adequately appraised by unbiased historians of tomorrow who will observe: (1) the steady growth of the Negro membership in labor organizations; (2) the steady decline of anti-Negro attitudes within labor organizations; (3) the increased willingness of the Negro to accept the responsibilities which union membership entails; (4) the increasing number of labor unions now actively interested in the struggle of Negro workers to gain those rights enjoyed by all other Americans; and (5) the elevation of Negro workers from the lowest levels of occupation into the skilled trades.

There is a tremendous and vital job still to be done by the Negro Labor Committee. "White Citizens' Councils" and other pro-segregationist groups have made substantial inroads among Southern trade union members. The defection of these members from the principles of Democracy represented by the Civil Rights policies of free trade-unionism is a dagger poised at the jugular vein of free labor.

To face this problem, the AFL-CIO plans to emulate the work that the Negro Labor Committee has been doing for the past 20 years. A vast educational program is called for; and the Negro Labor Committee, as a pioneer in this field, stands ready to assist in this great work—a job that will tax all the resources of the Negro Labor Committee in its continued struggle for Freedom and Democracy.

—Frank R. Crosswaith



(N. Y. State Comm. against Discrimination)

Ability Determines Position in Phillip Morris Office

Frank Crosswaith, Chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, is General Organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and is currently serving his fourth term as one of the five members of the New York City Housing Authority.

'The B' Describes Work

OUR TERMITE-RIDDLED FLOOR stood up better than I'd expected when an overflow of 150 people packed our clubrooms to hear Mrs. Eddie Doherty, the former Baroness Catherine de Hueck, who founded Friendship House 25 years ago. She held them with the story of her discovery that world goods were not enough, that the Church's social teachings must be lived and brought to all men.

She told of Monsignor Montini talking to her in Rome of the desirability of Friendship House becoming a secular institute as spoken of by Pope Pius XII in his "Provida Mater Ecclesia" of February, 1947.



'The B' . . . Mrs. Eddie Doherty

In Canada Friendship House followed his advice—to take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and to have more security provided for sickness and old age. Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Doherty also took these vows. In the United States, Friendship House did not, fearing that it would lose its lay status.

Madonna House Is Secular Institute

Mrs. Doherty's new foundation is called Madonna House. Its training center is in Combermere, Ontario, and there are houses in Whitehorse in the Yukon and Edmonton in Alberta.

Arizona was Mrs. Doherty's final destination in the United States where she discussed with a bishop the possibility of opening a center to work with Indians and Mexicans.

A young Navajo railroad worker was at F. H. visiting Pete Loftus. When Mrs. Doherty told him she was going to see if she could help his people, he burst out, "By God, it's time someone came to help my people!" Then he apologized profusely for swearing.

For an Indian to have burst out like that is a most amazing thing as they are usually silent and reserved. But they know the desperate poverty and lack of schools from which they are suffering.

Eight Lectures in Two Days

Eight talks in two days were arranged, and Mrs. Doherty went through with them inspiring, justifying our faith in her boundless energy. She spoke at a morning coffee hour at Mrs. Robert James' lovely home in the East-

A BAPTISMAL ROBE

Designed as a scapular, the robe is large enough to be worn on anniversaries through childhood and into adult life.

"Do it yourself" kit includes pure white linen, floss, embroidery needle, cord, instructions. . . . The kit: \$3.50

The Baptismal robe finish . . . \$7.50

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NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND

A non-profit corporation for the liturgical apostolate

moreland section of Portland. "The first time I ever spoke at a kaffeeklatsch!" said Mrs. Doherty. We stole a leaf from the politicians' book.

Then she went up to the student nurses at Mt. St. Vincent's Hospital. She told them of the ingenuity needed by a "bush nurse" in Canada where they often have to work without a doctor or hospital.

Girls from Marylhurst College then came to drive her to a talk there. At night she spoke at F. H. Friday she gave talks at St. Mary's of the Valley in Beaverton, Immaculata Academy in our own parish, Providence Academy in Vancouver, Washington and the seminary at Mt. Angel.

Everywhere she gave a tremendous impression of what it means to be in love with God and to love and serve your neighbor because of that love. At the same time she showed a great sense of humor and an understanding of how to appeal to each group to which she spoke.

She stirred up much new interest in the apostolate, emphasizing that each of us knows people he could help in their loneliness, sickness, or need of the truths of Christ.

Volunteer Program Reorganized

Reorganizing our volunteer program, we have several committees to help us with their particular talents. Mrs. Luis Turner is chairman of the art committee which will first redecorate the House to make it an attractive place for meetings and exhibits.

Bill Pease heads the library committee which will build up and promote our library. Charlene Helgesson is helping organize a simpler system for circulation of books.

Otto Knab heads a bulletin committee which we hope will join lay apostolate groups in Portland to put out an attractive printed monthly bulletin, giving news of our work and a schedule of coming activities. The enthusiasm of these friends is most encouraging to us.

Ellen Rehkopf Writes from France

Ellen Rehkopf, now Sister Martin de Porres of the Dominican Rural Missionaries and the person who started Portland Friendship House in 1951, wrote us a long letter asking for news of everyone and also inviting us to her profession in May at the Convent of St. Dominique, Flavigny-sur-Ozerain, Cote-d'Or, France. It's in Burgundy, northeast of Paris. So save your pennies for the trip and pray for her.

A discussion of the Knott Street Community Center took place at a recent meeting of the Albina Community Council which concerns itself with the welfare of our section of Portland. About 6,000 youngsters come there each week for crafts, sports and dancing. Three workers supervise the rambling, condemned old school building which houses the center.

Since Portland voters turned down a referendum to raise salaries of city employees, one worker has left the center and another is leaving soon for better-paying employment. There is criticism of the Center but not much public support, considering the need of youngsters in this area for wholesome recreation.

Indian Affairs

Termination on August 13, 1958, of federal supervision over the property of the tribe of Klamath Indians in southern Oregon has been much discussed recently. One problem is the maintenance of sustained-yield cutting of timber which is important for the economic future of the area.

The other problem concerns preparation of the Indians for their new responsibility. Approximately 2,100 Klamaths are now listed on the tribal roll,

Joy with Poverty

BEING IN A leisurely, philosophical mood, I wish to offer a few ideas on what the great feast of Our Lord's birth has meant to Friendship House for many years.

Christmas is, in my estimation, the special feast of Friendship House. For one thing, one of the primary means of Friendship House has been an attempt to make Christ incarnate in a local community.

Joy with Poverty

Again, Christmas is the feast of joy, both human and divine, and Friendship House has been noted for this joy. The spirit of Friendship House has been a joyful spirit and perhaps especially so when its poverty most resembled the poverty of the Babe in Bethlehem.

Finally, the Christmas message is directly related to our work. Christ, the Lord of the World, is born! We are no longer Jew or gentile, white or Negro, rich or poor, learned or ignorant. We are all one in Christ, our Savior, born this day.

Day of Unity

Christmas day is the day of unity, and the work of Friendship House is the work of establishing this unity, particularly as it touches the material needs and temporal environment of man.

A typical St. Peter Claver Center Christmas is just a normal outgrowth of the daily work for unity through the exercise of the corporal and spiritual

works of mercy. The baskets of food are symbolic of the Christian bond between the rich and the poor. Parties for children show the unity of weak and strong. Carolling at hospitals bind the healthy and sick together in the love of Christ. Open Breakfast for friends Christmas morning joins together in joyous festivity the old and the young, the men and the women, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. And in all of these activities the unity in Christ of men of different races is publicly manifested.

Motivation and Weapon

The Christmas message of unity is at once the most powerful motivation and the most powerful weapon in our work for interracial justice. We must work to drive racial prejudice and bitterness from the hearts of men since "God so loved the world . . ." And for the Christian who discriminates the glaring discrepancy between his belief in the union of all men in Christ and his daily practice can be effectively pointed out.

So it is my thesis that the feast of Christmas is and should be the special feast of Friendship House and that we have historically as a movement been particularly engaged in spreading the message of Christmas over the full course of the year.

—Jim Guinan

Eight years with Friendship House, Jim is director of St. Peter Claver Center.



"Parties for Children Show Unity"

about half under 21 years of age.

Public Law 587 provides that each adult member shall elect whether he will "withdraw from the tribe and have his interest in tribal property converted into money and paid to him or to remain in the tribe." In the case of minors, the head of the family makes the decision.

Those who elect to withdraw and claim their share of the tribal assets will no longer be considered members of the tribe.

Tribal Property Worth 80 Million

Only that portion of the tribal lands required to meet the claims of those withdrawing will be sold; the rest will remain the property of the tribe. It is estimated that all tribal property may reach a valuation of \$80,000,000 or about \$40,000 for each person on the tribal roll, including children.

Reservation timber consists of about

600,000 acres of Ponderosa pine which on a sustained yield basis has been providing an annual per capita income to the Klamaths of about \$800. Of the 1,050 adults, it is estimated that about 33 per cent are now self supporting. Forty-five per cent depend solely on their per capita allotments, and 22 per cent have some supplemental income.

At a recent meeting to consider the problems of timber cutting and preparing the Indians for assuming their new responsibilities, there was much interest in the lumber but little in the Indians. We hope that the Indians may be helped to avoid exploitation and complete destitution. (For more on the Indian situation nationally, see page 8.)

—Mabel C. Knight

Mabel is director of Portland Friendship House.

Our Loss of Manpower *& employment*

THE NEGRO POTENTIAL by Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press, New York, 1956. 144 pp. \$3.00.

THIS MONOGRAPH WAS WRITTEN under the supervision of the Conservation of Human Resources Project which was founded by President Eisenhower in 1950 while he was president of Columbia University. It is a study of some of the qualifications the Negro brings to his job and of what can be done to increase his ability to become better integrated industrially.

To the two factors—innate qualities and environment—producing human potential, Dr. Ginzberg adds a third: circumstances present in early family life and community and school opportunities. Racial segregation and discrimination block the development of the Negro's potential by affecting adversely the second and third factors.

Southern Farms Are Improving

Two thirds of the total Negro population still lives in the South with one

half of these in rural areas. However, the marked improvement in Southern farms, such as greater diversification of crops, increase in capital investment and more extensive use of machinery and fertilizers, has somehow left the Negro almost untouched.

In the cities the rapid urbanization of Southern whites has made more acute the plight of the Negro "functional illiterates" by increasing competition in the lower labor brackets. "Functional illiterates"—persons who cannot meet the educational performance of a normal fifth grader—are three times as numerous among Negroes as among whites. The number of these illiterates will be rapidly reduced by integrated school systems.

More Complex Economy

Although the number of these illiterates is much smaller in the North, the Negro here is faced with a growing demand by employers for workers with at least a high school diploma since the worker must be able to function

adequately in an economy which is becoming more complex.

While union leadership both North and South have pressed for integration, the local membership and customs are often firmly against change. Moreover, the union apprenticeship program provides for too few Negroes, partly because of discrimination and partly because many Negro youths lack the high school training necessary to enroll. On the credit side must be placed the benefit of the seniority plan which will protect Negroes during forthcoming recessions.

Segregation in the North

The effects of de facto segregation in the North in social and educational life are not overlooked by the authors. They mention the advantages of competition between Negro and white students, of informed education gained in groups primarily social and of learning the mores and behavior patterns of the white majority. Desertion of the Negro family by the father in an excessive number of cases often results in lack of discipline, in resignation, an absence of work drives and an apathy to high work goals.

It comes as no surprise to integrationists that the performance of the Negro soldier was markedly improved by Army integration. The constraints that led to integration are narrated here for the first time.

Developing the Negro Potential

The authors offer several suggestions for developing the Negro potential. Most important is continued and more rapid migration to the North and West. They also recommend more federal and local credit to farmers, off-farm employment in rural areas, more training in non-agricultural skills, assistance in migrating out and more college preparatory education. Negro Colleges are advised to convert to two-year technical colleges after desegregation is complete.

While the material of this book is not new in outline, the charts and detailed facts will give flesh to the skeleton of information most of us already have.

—Russ Marshall

Russ is a resident of Chicago and a close friend of Friendship House. He contributes frequently to COMMUNITY.

What Kind of Virtue? *Spiritual*

SON OF THE CHURCH by Louis Lochet. Fides Publishers, Chicago, 1956. 255 pp. \$4.50.

READING THIS BOOK reminded me of a comment attributed to Karl Adam, the German theologian. "The question today is not 'Is there a God?' but 'What kind of a God is He?' It is not a question of shall we be virtuous but what kind of virtue shall we practice?"

This unusual book answers some of these questions. **Son of the Church** might best be described as reflections on apostolic activity. It could only have been written from experience; it could only be born out of life. Because of this the thoughts presented have a shocking genuineness.

Church Virtues

An example of cutting away and laying bare the heart of the matter is observed in the author's opening paragraph of "Church Virtues":

"One comes away astonished, upon re-reading most of the books on spirituality of the last century, at the small place given therein to the social influence of the Christian life. The itinerary of the soul to God is described throughout as an individual effort. Conversion, active and passive purifications, contemplations are considered as stages of the relationship of the soul with God. The Christian virtues are studied in their nature and in their progression. Yet, not one chapter on the necessity of letting one's faith radiate in the apostolate; not one on the duty of being responsible for conditions of life in the circle of the family, the neighborhood or the job; not one on the demands for services to be rendered to the Church in the framework of the parish or of movements, or on the concrete demands of international charity and of the organization

of peace, or on the missionary duty of every Christian and his active participation in the communal liturgical life. It seems that the life of Grace and the organism of the virtues have been understood only in the individual Christian. More and more we feel that it is necessary to see them rooted in a community, developing through it and for it—and not just Christian virtues, but Church virtues."

The Saint and the Senses

Or again this same approach in the chapter on "Contemplations" where he exposes the very prevalent Platonic concept of prayer. In this view prayer would be an elevation of the soul to God at the price of detachment from the sensible. The author develops at length why the Christian is caught up in the sensible.

The chapter on "Apostolic Purifications" is spiritual realism at its best. If our priests, teachers and elders prepared youth in this manner, the enthusiasm of the teens and early twenties might carry over into adult life more than it does. The resistance of the environment crushes too many of us.

A World to Organize

"We imagine reforms," says Father Lochet, "and think that it is enough to speak for them to enter into morality. We confound thought with reality, the plan for the edifice. Between the two there is a world to move, to raise up, to organize. It is heavy; sometimes it is crushing. It fights back."

For the soul that has experienced weariness and discouragement—this book is manna.

—Ed Chambers

Ed has been associated with Friendship House for the past two years and is presently on the National Office Committee.

Teenagers - How They Grew *Book Review*

PATTERNS FOR TEENAGERS by Vincent J. Giese. Fides Publishers, Chicago, 1956. 139 pp. \$3.50.

"HEY!" said Eddie. "You gonna write something about us guys?" "Sure," replied Vince, "I'll write a book about you, if you want me to."

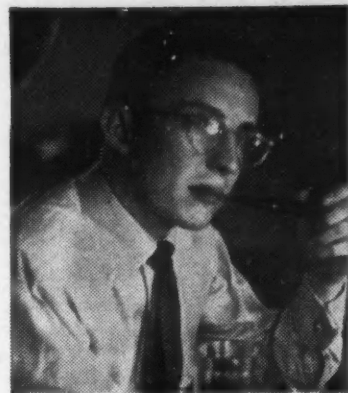
Patterns for Teenagers is that book and the author, Vincent J. Giese, is editorial director of Fides Publishers.

Vince, as he is known to his numerous friends, presents us with a study of young people and the work that he has done in his own parish on Chicago's South Side. Beginning with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in St. Francis de Paula's he met and cultivated friendships with many of the teenagers in the parish. He became their friend and confidant. So much so that he gave them the key to his apartment to use for meetings and bull sessions.

The Teenage Gang

Vince says, "... it seems to be the teenage gang that we must turn our attention to if we would want to solve the problems of modern youth. We need to find ways of building something constructive on this natural basis of the teenage gang."

The great charm of the book lies in the easy and informal manner in which the author has brought to view the guys at Grand Crossing. We meet Moe, the scapegoat of the neighborhood who is mentally retarded; then there's Herman who wanted to belong to the gang but couldn't—at least not until the guys had a "Be Good to Herman Week," and honest, easy-going Eddie



Vince Giese

who left the tough gang in the park to join The Young Christian Workers. Most of the other guys are here either in prose or pictures.

Outline for Action

The last portion of the book is devoted to an outline of 24 meetings which have already been tried and proven successful. Each is composed of a Gospel discussion and a bull session on problems such as dating and family life.

In a book of unusual but attractive format Vince has given to everyone interested in the youth of today, much food for thought and an outline for action. Read it and see if you don't agree.

—Eugene Huffine

Gene was formerly assistant editor of COMMUNITY.

More on the Liturgy *Spiritual*

PRAYING THE PSALMS by Thomas Merton. Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minn. 32 pp. \$25.

A GEM OF A PAMPHLET. One that should be helpful to the person who has been praying the psalms as well as the "newcomer."

Probably the best known contemporary spiritual writer, Merton here discusses the Church's love of the psalms and some explanation of how they express the "fundamental religious experience: the peace that comes from submission to God's will and from perfect confidence in Him."

A suggestion that may help to give this pamphlet the wide circulation it deserves: use it as a "little gift." I know of nothing comparable in value for 25c. Attractively illustrated by Grailville Art Center.

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS IN THE FAMILY by Francis X. Weiser, S.J. Liturgical Press, Minn. 96 pp. \$25.

LIKE ALL OTHER popular literature I have seen on "radiation of the liturgy into Christian homes," this pamphlet focuses on the youngsters. What, I keep muttering, about the adults?

In its limited field, however, Father Weiser's pamphlet is better than many. No angel hair clouds for Ascension Day! He spells out the religious meaning of customs familiar to Americans and discusses—sensibly—such matters as Halloween, Thanksgiving and Santa.

Attractive in format, written in an easy informal style it is well worth the price. And I will continue to watch for pamphlet or book that considers the question of adults. —Mary Dolan

Readers Write:

Dear Editor: Please send me as many November issues of COMMUNITY as the enclosed amount will buy.

The last of the 20 copies of the October issue disappeared from our Church pamphlet rack after three weeks. When they didn't go very fast at first with just the candidates' faces showing, we turned a couple over to show the heading "The Major Parties on Civil Rights." After this they began to sell. So every time Bob and I went to Church we turned a couple over.

MRS. ROBERT LITTLE
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Editor: I want to thank you for such an interesting, personal style of editing, but I still think the lasting value of the articles would be better preserved for more future readers if it were more the size of Crisis (pocket size) instead of newspaper style.

THOMAS J. SMITH
Palos Verdes Estates, California

Dear Editor: As a Southerner born to the soil, may I suggest that you "Yankees" clean out your own front yards before you begin to clean out our own back yards? The South's problem is ours.

FATHER W. L.
Louisiana

Indian Ironies

Complex Problems of American Indians
Highlights Ironies of Racist
Thinking in United States

"WE HAVEN'T DEFINITELY DECIDED what an Indian is," Carlos B. Embry declares in his new book (*America's Concentration Camps—the Facts about our Indian Reservations Today*; David McKay Co., N. Y., 229 pp., \$3.50). Do we consider the Indian—Embry asks—a member of a dependent domestic nation, a ward of the government, a citizen of the United States, or all of these rolled into one? Are we still wondering whether we should give him what is left of his land and money, tax-free? Do we ask ourselves whether we have legal and moral obligations to him? Do we think he should have a unique type of self-government? Or do we assume he should be governed like other citizens?

Congressional Policy

All these questions which Embry raises play into the confusion that seems to have marked relations between Indians and the government through the years.

Recent Congressional policy has been aimed at solution of the so-called "Indian problem." This would be done through:

- Ending Federal relations with tribes.
- Transferring to the states the services formerly provided by Federal government.
- Transferring tribal assets to individuals or groups the tribe elects.
- Distributing tribal money on deposit in U. S. Treasury on a per capita basis.
- Increasing slightly appropriations for health, education, and economic development.
- Stepping up the Indian Service's "voluntary" relocation program for relieving overpopulation on reservations.

(How such proposed changes affect one tribe—Klamath Indians of Oregon—is described on page 6.)

At first glance, this plan seems to fit well into a program for doing away with highly criticized "Federal paternalism." Yet the matter is not so simple.

Material Contributions

"Changes that American Indians wrought in the life of our pioneers," Ralph Nader points out in a Harvard Law Record article, *American Indians, People Without a Future*, "were far more impressive and less destructive than any changes 'white' teachers brought to Indian life." Indian modes and methods were adapted to their environment. Four-sevenths of our national farm produce today consists of plants domesticated by Indian botanists. We acquired methods of planting, irrigation, cultivation, storage and utilization from them. We gained their thorough knowledge of herbs and medicines.

The Intangible Gifts

THE INDIAN democratic tradition, the pattern of states within a state, the habit of treating chiefs as servants

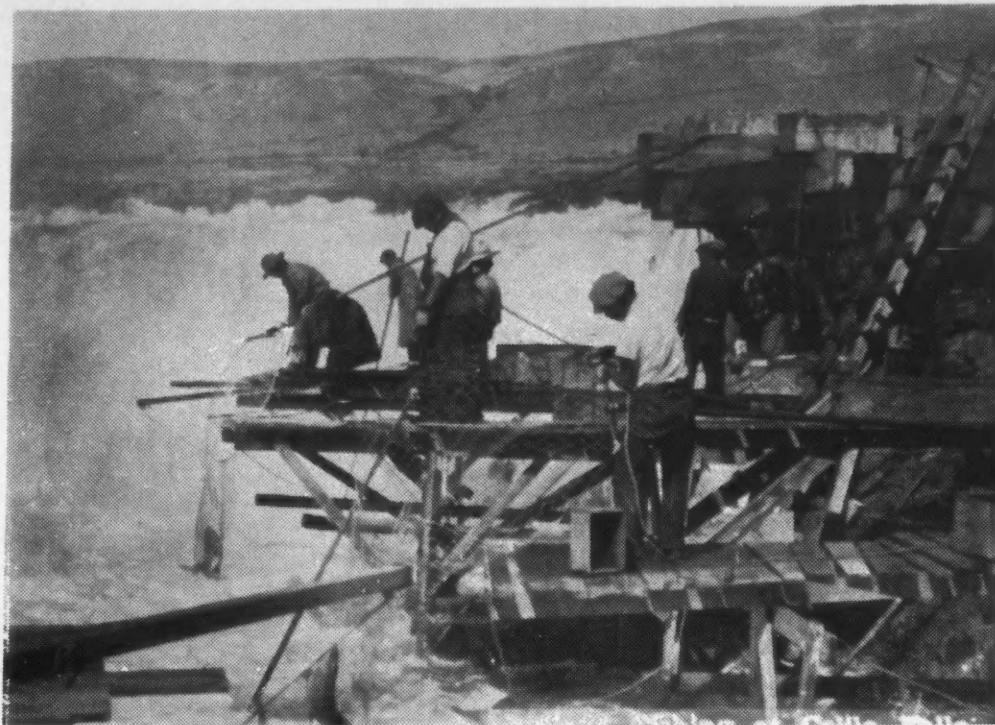
Indians

Fishing

Oregon's

Columbia

River



of the people, the insistence that communities must respect differences in men and their aims were a part of the American Indian's way of life before 1492. These, the European colonists absorbed into their culture.

Legal Status

In 1924 an Act of Congress declared that all Indians born within territorial limits of the United States are citizens. The unique part of the Indian's legal status is his membership in a special political body—the tribe. This replaces for him the state and the municipality which other American citizens have. (Some states still do not give Indians on reservations the right to vote.)

Our government received an estimated \$800,000,000 worth of land from the Indians. For this, goods and services which made up a large part of the Federal aid to tribes were promised. Treaties, whereby the government gained definite land and rights, created a trustee relationship between the government and the tribes. As Uncle Sam's part of the bargain, tax exemption was granted and the Indian Bureau was created to furnish services.

Through the years, Indian Bureau policies have pirouetted. At one time they emphasized the melting pot idea and assimilation. Later in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 they stressed the idea of tribal self-government and preserving the land "base."

"Get Out of Their Hair"

According to Embry: "One may wade through thousands of pages of well-written, learned discussions by officials of the Indian services, or by white students of Indian affairs, suggesting or stating dogmatically what should be done to elevate Indians to a position of competence. But one searches in vain for some statement like this:

"We must educate and develop Indian leaders for Indian people. We must have Indian doctors, Indian lawyers, Indian merchants. Then we must get off their land and out of their hair and let them work out their own salvation in the democratic American way."

Lowest Man on Income Ladder

Present status of Indians gives a view on the work of the Indian Bureau. Lowest man on the nation's income ladder, few Indian families have an adequate livelihood. Only 450 of 14,950 Navajo families earn more than \$1500 a year. Median family income in this—the largest tribe—is \$730 from agriculture plus \$855 from other sources.

Broken Promises

In 1869 the government made a treaty with the Navajos promising a teacher and a classroom for every 30 Navajos. The promise has never been kept, and today about eight out of ten

Navajos have no command of the English language.

Commenting on this, Sam Ahkeah, chairman of Navajo Tribal Council, said, "We have an attorney working on this in Washington. He got figures from a Texas professor showing the difference in the earning power of persons who had completed the grades, high school and college. On the basis of these figures, a man 80 years old who has not had schooling has been knocked out of a lot of earning power. The government owed the Navajo a lot of money."

Cultural Maladjustments

Alongside the failure to provide services stipulated in treaties has been the failure of social workers, educators, missionaries, and administrators to understand the problems of cultural maladjustment. Often these workers have abolished traditional systems of social control, without giving equivalent control from the dominant society. Indians attempting to become part of the mainstream of society are in a difficult position. They are rewarded in school as children for learning "white" ways. But as adults they are shunned when they become competitors of white neighbors or when they ask for equality on the job.

Two Sides to Relocation

Since 1951 relocation programs have been conducted by the Indian Bureau in various cities. A recent meeting conducted by the University of Chicago Human Relations Center brought out sharp differences of opinion on relocation.

To Paul A. Sims of the Chicago United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, relocation is an absolute necessity because there has been an increase in the Indian population and reservations cannot support this increase. To John Hopa of Salt River Indian Reservation, the matter is not so clear. Relocation is to him another way of pushing Indians off valuable land. Rev. Peter John Powell of St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, Chicago, notes, "Termination of reservations is a way of getting Indian land into the hands of white vested interests. There are two sides to relocation—the Indian side and the white side."

Three Deadly Factors

Oliver LaFarge of the Association on American Indian Affairs declares that a realistic investigation of recent policy shows three deadly factors working in unison: impatience, greed and good intentions. Impatience, he notes, comes over the fact that a hundred years of Federal guidance has not helped the Indian to help himself. The amazing thing, he continues, is not that the Indian did not make more progress,

but that he was able to survive at all and retain so much of his integrity.

Greed, LaFarge adds, arises over the valuable minerals, salmon, fishing areas, grazing and timber lands Indians hold, which they no longer allow predatory interests to rent for a pittance. It is the cattle, fishing, timber, and mining interests, he believes, that are now pushing for rapid termination of the reservations. Shouting liberty, equality, and assimilation, they are working on the impatient and the uninformed and the good-intentioned to do away with Indian land.

What Indians Want

In this milieu of many opinions, one might ask what informed Indian leaders want. According to Nader, "Indian leaders recognize that Federal responsibilities must end sometime. But rapid withdrawal would lead, they feel, to annihilation."

"Indians are in favor of a modified withdrawal system," Clarence Wesley, an Apache tribal leader, points out, "which would provide a gradual assumption of activities now administered by the Indian Bureau."

A Matter of Rights

The problems, as Indian leaders see them, revolve around a matter of rights. They are defined by federal law as development of reservation resources and establishment of adequate schools, hospitals, and other services. Unpreparedness for entrance into competitive white society was recognized by the government in the early tribes. That unpreparedness still prevails because Federal programs have failed.

Indians are now too weak to hold on to what they have. Yet a recent conference of anthropologists concluded, "As adequate skills, techniques and leadership are developed and the tribes' economic situation improves, Indians can and will assume responsibility for financing and operating community services. An important factor in this is personnel, not only competent but with an understanding of Indians' points of view."

One real difficulty in getting action is the lack of a group or party to fight the battle. As Embry points out: "The West wants to take what is left of the Indians' estate, and the rest of the country is not interested. Nobody who votes cares."

The Indian group is small—343,410 today as compared with 800,000 when Europeans came to this country. It is weak. It is expendable. That this is so stems from our bungling, injustice, and unconcern. Our failure to come to grips with this other "American dilemma" is one of the deepest failures in our heritage. —Betty Schneider

Betty Schneider was National Director of Friendship House from 1950 to 1954.

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